1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement.

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated.

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[8] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

[8] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."